D) Repairs:

227 The expense of the periodic tarring of the net is borne equally by all those who are concerned in the business, the master and the owner hiring two more crewmen. This operation is usually performed every month and a half. The same happens with repairs to the net (thread, etc.).

The acquisition of new gear or repairs to the existing equipment are held to the account of the owner, always if, through use, it has been damaged by the sea; but if the damage has been intentional, then the gross value is demanded of the individual who caused it in front of an arbiter (theft, boarding the boat, etc.).

Each crew member must acquire annually, for the fishing gear, three pieces of cord, each one some 15 meters in length. The rest, up to the necessary length of the net, is taken care of by the owner. The master does nothing.

The straps are improvised with left-over pieces of rope earlier, and in the latter case they are cut from this. When a crew member transfers, leaves or is discharged, he cannot take the piece of rope which he originally supplied.

505 E) Travelers and Merchandise:

When the trip is contracted by the master and the hour of departure fixed by him, the sails are hoisted a short distance off shore, and by this time, if a traveler changes his mind and wants to go back to shore, he is taken ashore at the first opportunity, but he must pay for the trip already contracted.

628 to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the
648 verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine
554 and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the
671 same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and
692 finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting them-
[115] selves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this
628 qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen
554 is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

227 The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analo-
[171] gous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the
[177] Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly
501 the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

231

231 DOMESTICATED ANIMALS--captive and tamed animals; domesticated insects (e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals; special treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; grooming; slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social importance of animal husbandry; diseases; etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins 281
Work in bone and horn 321
Animal shelters 343
Use of animals in transportation 492
Names of animals 552
Animals as wealth 556
Ethnozoology 825

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CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[411] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild boar, and, where there are any, the aoudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal [262] may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula "*bism illah, ullahu akbar*," — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares, [262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

● [231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as 326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

224 separate them and release the jaws. No bait is used, nor is any attempt made to smoke or otherwise deodorise the trap.

Wild animals which are shot, netted, or trapped are not flayed by inflation, as is the case with domestic animals. (See plate 32.) The skins must be taken off laboriously with a knife, otherwise, it is thought, bad luck will befall the hunter and he will never catch any more of that species.[1]

When a Riffian has the good fortune to kill a wild ox, he takes particular pains to eat a portion of its head, thinking that in this way he will be lucky in hunting these animals in the future.

In the days when lions were common in the Rif, they were seldom hunted. The Riffians regarded the lion as a beast on a plane of importance little below that of man. It is said that a lion would never touch a man passing him unless the man made some aggressive motion, in which case the lion generally won. People passing lions used to intone formulae entreating the "father of the heart," as he was called, not to molest them. It is said that lions became rare or extinct not through the device of men, but through the increasing scarcity of wild boar, which formed their principal diet.

FISHING

226 Fishing is carried on all along the coast from the mouth of the Muluya to the western borders of the Ghomara. There are two principal methods, seining small fish near shore and catching larger fish on hooks in deep water.

The seine, called *tharrasha*, is made of hemp and is attached at either end to two long ropes. A boat takes the net out, with one rope on shore in the hands of a number of men. When the boat has reached the end of the rope, the net is let out in a semicircle, and the boat is then rowed back to shore, where the other rope is handed out as far from the first as possible. The two groups then pull on the ropes, gradually lessening the distance between them as they do so. The boat goes out again and is rowed in behind the net, to be on the spot in case of trouble. When the net is finally beached the crowd rushes in and scoops up the still leaping fish in baskets; the fish are put in a common pile on the sand, and are then divided equally among the families assisting in the catch. (See plates 5 and 6.)

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 The domestic animals kept by the Riffians are the horse, ass, mule, camel, cow, sheep, goat, dog, cat, ferret, and pig. Of fowl, the hen is the only one domesticated. Bees are also kept.

Horses are kept exclusively for riding; they are for the most part of the barb type, a strong, heavy, cart-horse breed; Arab horses, of pure or mixed blood, are ridden by the nomads of the Garet. Horses are found in greatest numbers in the east, among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa primarily, and to a lesser extent among the Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Beni Ulishk, and in Tafersit.

In the rest of the Rif and in the Senhaja and Ghomara, the character of the country is such as to preclude the common use of the horse. In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,

[1] This identical belief is found among the Passamoquoddy Indians of Maine, who feel that such an inflation is an insult to the animal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart, 231
Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Targuist, and Bokoya, and in the western maritime tribes, [556]
horses are owned only by very wealthy and influential men, who buy them in the lowlands, keeping them more for display than for any other purpose. In the Senhaja Sghir and the Ghomara horses are very seldom encountered; in fact none were owned in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, or Ktama at the time of the Spanish conquest. The sedentary peoples who own horses keep them in the courtyards of their houses and take excellent care of them; without exception the animals are fat, well fed, and not overworked.

Donkeys are found throughout the region, more particularly in the lowlands. They are of a small hardy breed. During the war the Riffians stole many large Spanish jackasses from the military encampments to increase the size of their own animals. In the high mountains of the central Rif and Senhaja, even donkeys are none too frequently encountered. They are used for transport, riding, threshing, and the operation of olive-grinders. They also are kept in the courtyards of the houses at night and are fed on barley and straw.

Mules are more common than either horses or donkeys. For the most part, the breeding of horses, donkeys, and mules is carried on in the lowlands, where the animals are bought by the mountain people. Mules are more highly prized than either of their parental stocks, since they can carry a much heavier load than donkeys and can navigate the steep trails and passes of the mountains better than horses. They are also used for threshing and for the operation of olive-grinders.

Camels are owned only by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. Of the usual dromedary type, they are used wholly for the transport of goods and are only exceptionally ridden.

Sheep are kept principally by the nomadic tribes, and to a lesser extent by the lowland tribes of the eastern Rif. They are found only in the southern part of Gzennaya and are seldom raised in the northern section of that tribe. They are likewise absent from the southern Beni Urriaghel area and are rare in the mountains of the western Beni Tusin. In Beni Amart and Targuist, on account of the flat plateau-like nature of the territory, sheep are fairly numerous. Throughout the Senhaja Sghir and Ghomara they are practically unknown, and of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja tribes only those on the southwestern extremity own them in any quantity.

Goats, on the other hand, have an opposite distribution. Although they are known and kept everywhere, their numbers increase with the altitude. On the lowlands the sheep are more numerous. In tribes on higher levels, such as Temsaman, the numbers are about even, and in the mountain nucleus at the headwaters of the Nekor and in the Senhaja Sghir the goats hold undisputed sway, for they are better able to withstand cold and to climb about mountain crags. The breeding of sheep, on the other hand, where feasible, is more lucrative than that of goats. This distribution does not, however, indicate the priority of goats over sheep in the Rif (even though this may well be the case), since the environmental factor is, in this particular instance, the governing one.

Sheep and goats are pastured by small boys, usually the sons of the owners, who amuse [857]
themselves by shooting with flintlock guns at pigeons, grouse, and small quadrupeds. Sheepfolds consisting of rough stone enclosures are used at night in stormy weather, and in winter the flocks are usually kept in the courtyard when the weather forbids their presence outside. The purchasing or raising of sheep or goats among the sedentary tribes depends largely upon the presence of sons of proper age to tend them, and the animals are usually sold when the sons have grown too old. In Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa this restriction does

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

●231 not hold, since sheep-herding is done by grown men, especially old men whose age of usefulness in other pursuits has passed.

Dogs. Three breeds of dog are found in the Rif. The most common is the ordinary small yellow cur, with lop ears like a jackal and a bristly mane, which serves as a sentry during the night, is seldom fed, and keeps up a terrific racket, yipping at all hours. These dogs, which frequently breed with jackals and can with difficulty be distinguished from them, are half wild, back away snarling and yelping when approached, and are usually ignorant of human affection. When kept, however, by people kindly disposed to them, as is sometimes though rarely the case, they develop into quite tractable and intelligent pets and companions.

The second variety is a large shepherd dog, resembling a Scotch shepherd, with broad head and shaggy coat. Such dogs are treated with greater respect and are fed regularly. They go out with the boys tending the sheep, and show great intelligence in assisting them. The boys tending the sheep throw stones at them with plaited *halfa* slings, while the dogs snap at the heels of the more distant members of the flock; and between the efforts of the slingers and those of their dogs, the sheep seldom stray. Despite the care of the boys, both sheep and goats sometimes fall prey to the larger variety of *oshun*.[1]

The third type of dog, the aristocrat of canine society in Morocco, is the *sloughi*, the well-known North African greyhound, a smooth-haired variety, covering every possible range of color. The *sloughi*, kept exclusively for hunting, is confined in the Rif to the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. It is likewise kept by the Beni Znassen, a purely Zenatan tribe outside the Rif; it is considered by the Riffians a Zenatan introduction.

Cats are rare and serve as house pets, as elsewhere.

Ferrets are kept in cages in the houses and are used in hunting.[2]

Cattle occupy the first place among Riffian domestic animals. They belong to a short, shaggy-haired, stocky breed, generally red in color and long-horned. Although small, they are very hardy and well adapted to mountain life. They are kept by every family. No house which contains a woman lacks a cow, from the highest mountains to the desert of the Garet. While the weather is favorable, they are pastured in fields or on the less rugged mountain slopes and tended by women or girls; during the winter, and while the storms of October and November are raging, they are kept in the house. To conduct them to pasture is often a difficult feat, on account of the narrowness and steepness of the paths; often four or more women, pulling on ropes, horns, and tail, are required to guide a cow over a dangerous place. Despite this care, many fall and break their legs or necks.

Cows are kept in the house during the night, in the same room in which the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The cow is given the lower fourth of the chamber, which is sunk below the level of the habitation floor. She is fed on straw, grass, and the stalks of maise. During the late winter, before the green shoots have appeared on the mountain sides, women often spend all their time in a search for weeds and grass to feed the family cow.

Bulls are owned in every village and are put to stud for hire. The mating of cattle is, curiously enough, the task of women. The owner of the bull and the owner of the cow each sends his wife to conduct his animal to a secluded place previously agreed upon, and the husbands take care not to approach the spot. For any man to witness the mating of cattle would be a shameful experience, although women may look upon it with impunity. [831]

[1] See Introduction, p. 12.

[2] See below, p. 37.

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231 [782] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains: seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. They are the exclusive property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

824 718 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan- [842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power [843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 755 718 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case [231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame. A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines, [842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

718 824 696 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand) as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow. Some soribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[184] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, — that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

412 231 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm. Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

[254]

RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

789 evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred.

/266/ The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif the women dress up a wooden ladle (aganja) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain.

[372] /276/ As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain. Among the Ait Waryager rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Esa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (anahadam) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air.

/279/ Among the Ait Waryager, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque.

/282/ The Ait Waryager, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts.

/283/ BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATION TO ANIMALS

231 /284/ In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal; after they have eaten they make fatha, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Ait Yusi, Ait Waryager).

/285/ Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought.

Among the Ait Waryager a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (damqayyast) or a pair of silver brooches (dibzimin, sing. dabzind), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (azqaq) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away.

[177] /287/ Among the Ait Waryager donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad fal.

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 639 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

231 [300] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a considerable number of sheep or goats he slaughters one of them so that there shall be much baraka in the animals and they shall be very fertile.

[303] Among the Ait Waryager whooping-cough is cured with the [755] milk of a perfectly black she-goat, which is taken in the morning on an empty stomach warm as it comes from the udder.

[304] If a dog eats from a vessel or licks it the vessel will break, unless it is washed seven times with hot water (Andjra); or it must be washed with water into which seven stones have been put in order to make it clean (Ait Waryager).

[305] If a dog or a cat steals food belonging to the scribes of the mosque it will have the itch (Ait Waryager). If the dog eats the flesh or blood of a camel it will become blind or die (Ulad Bu'aziz); and if it eats the blood of a person it will lose its hair (Andjra) or it is bad for the person (Ait Waryager). If a bitch is addicted to stealing food, its owner puts its pups on the road leading to the market-place so that passers-by shall take them up and teach them how to behave; then their mother will cease to steal (ibid.).

[308] Unlike other dogs the greyhound is regarded, not as unclean, but as possessed of baraka.

The cat, also, has some baraka. It is good to eat food of which [755] a cat has eaten before. This is a cure for nervousness (Andjra); and so it is to wash oneself with water from which a cat has drunk (Tangier), or to eat the flesh of a cat (Ait Waryager).

[309] A cat has seven lives; hence to kill one is as bad as to kill seven men (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[310] A person who eats the liver of a fowl is supposed to become a coward (Igliwa, etc.); hence it is not eaten by men and boys (Aglu, Ait Warain) or is not given to young boys to eat (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

A person, or at least a child (Ait Waryager), who eats the head of a fowl will become night-blind, because the fowl is unable to see [311] in the dark.

If a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung in a tree with the head downwards while it is raining (ibid.), or oil is put into its mouth and genitals (Ait Waryager).

[312] We have seen that baraka is ascribed to the bee and to honey, and noticed many observances connected with the idea of their holiness.

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] 825 755 The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. [231] Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

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The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūncn*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] [241] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] [231] [224] [226] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] [463] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[108] [294] [286] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
671 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

671 223 224 231 eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

[411] 2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

[804] 3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

671 224 Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

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the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

L) Ferrets:

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In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

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If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted [427] and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 during this period, in the months of August and September, that 221 weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and [241] there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. [999] Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is [262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [551] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [491] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is 796 vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless, impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
433 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
435 Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif,
[191] which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

231 435 of livestock during normal market conditions show a mule to be worth $100 or more, a donkey between $40 and $60. Cows range from $50 to $70, and bulls upward to $100. Rams sell for $20 [454] to $30, and goats for $10. Given the resources of the Riffian, expenditures of this magnitude represent expensive investments.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community.
If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif
and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him
to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically
the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held
all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must
sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing
Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
571 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals
upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its
climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a
subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more
time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt
to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

231 454 433 554

256 435 472 [376] Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 342 S [417] [513] [352]

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

S [353]

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

S [574] S [335] [341] [252] [354] [352]

R 342 [351]

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

R [351] [231] [171] [333]

R [171] [352]

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

R 342 556

R 341 346 171

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
256
191

Fig. 22. Turbine grist mill.

R
245
407
191

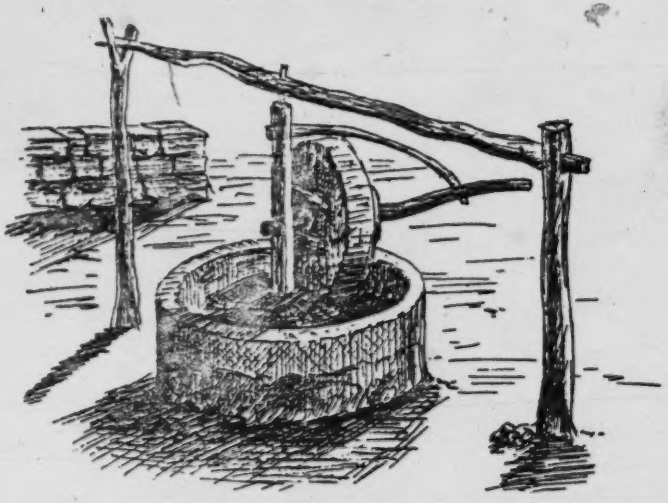

Fig. 23. Olive grinder.

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061

and by the number of goatherds. The situation in Ktama is representative of the entire highland area. In 1934 this mountain tribe, with a population of 8,389 persons, maintained 20,259 goats in an area of 450 square kilometers.[13] Goats must be brought back to shelter each night; so the radius of their movement is small. The effects of browsing on vegetation will be examined in chapter viii.

R
231
191

The number of goats decreases toward the Atlantic lowlands and the plains

[13] Figures from an unpublished report of the Spanish *interventor* dated November, 1934.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[13] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*). Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[13] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 3.

A [See p. 132--Analyst] B [See p. 129--Analyst]

:Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref NK3
[Village of Ubd 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.